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5 January 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1956



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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

DEPARTING BULGARIAN ENVOY--Comrade Ilie Verdet, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, on 3 December received Petur Danailov, ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, on a farewell visit in connection with end of his mission to our country. The ensuing talk took place in a cordial atmosphere. [AU071036 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 4 Dec 81 p 5 AU]

ROMANIAN ENVOY TO ISLAMABAD--Mohammad Ziaul Haq, president of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, on 3 December received the credentials of the new ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Romania to Islamabad, Constantin Burada. During the ensuing talk, the two sides expressed satisfaction with the upward trend of Romanian-Pakistani friendly relations and their determination to continue to develop them in the interests of their peoples and the cause of peace, detente, independence and progress throughout the world. [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 4 Dec 81 p 5 AU]

ROMANIAN-CSSR EVENT--The CSSR economic agency in Bucharest gave a press conference on 3 December which was attended by representatives of the central press, of radio-television and the Romanian News Agency--ACERPRE. Miroslav Horak, commercial counselor at the CSSR Embassy in our country, stressed the main aspects of Romanian-CSSR economic cooperation and emphasized the possibilities for expanding and diversifying that cooperation in the interests of the two peoples. [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 4 Dec 81 p 5 AU]

CSO: 2700/106

BULGARIAN PARTY ORGAN'S REPORTS ON POLAND

AU221157 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 21 December 1981 carried on page 5 several reports on recent developments in Poland and reaction to them abroad. The page opens with a 900-word TASS report: "Decisive Measures Adopted by the Military Council of National Salvation." It refers to a communique issued by the Polish Ministry of Interior and dispatched through PAP on the situation in the country, where according to the communique "martial law is being observed along general lines" and the "curfew has been shortened in certain areas," but in other areas and enterprises, "however, this measure cannot be adopted since subversive 'solidarity' elements continue to provoke unrest." The report mentions that "'solidarity' criminals are blackmailing the authorities in a Katowice mine and are threatening to cause an explosion." Basing itself on the Polish Radio and on TRYBUNA LUDU and ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, the report describes activities and statements by the KOS-KOR "anticommunists" Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski, "who indefatigably strive for the conflagration of fratricidal war in Poland in order to bring back capitalism." The rest of the report is devoted to Western reaction to Polish events, described as "actual interference in the country's domestic affairs." The report closes with a quotation from TRYBUNA LUDU: "Poland, however, is being gradually resurrected and is once more taking its worthy place in the fraternal family of the socialist community."

This report is followed by a 700-word BTA report from Warsaw, entitled "Life Normalizes," which describes improvements in the food supply and "restriction of the black market." This information is attributed to PAP and the Polish Radio. The BTA report cites an interview with the Polish minister of domestic trade on improvements in supplies and on "small Christmas presents prepared in the enterprises for the working people's children." It mentions improvements in coal production and the "general improvement of working discipline in enterprises and among the citizens," adding that "Warsaw citizens have gone out to clear the streets of snow." The report also mentions a meeting of the Democratic Party Presidium where "the political situation and economic conditions were discussed" and the "necessity of strictly observing the martial law regulations" was confirmed.

A 600-word report by Warsaw correspondent Angel Bonev entitled "Order and Calm Return" describes the situation in Warsaw and mentions cases of citizens' spontaneously expressing gratitude to the military and militia forces patrolling the streets. "Aktivists of party organizations in large Warsaw enterprises have voluntarily joined the military forces to assist them in maintaining public order," Bonev remarks. He cites the Polish Radio in reporting "street demonstrations in Gdansk

where some people have been injured," adding that "irresponsible people tried to create disorder in Warsaw, as well but--here--the public did not support them." Bonev mentions the discovery of "documents in the headquarters of the so-called 'Trade Union' and of metal sticks filled with a special gas, made in the West." Bonev adds in this respect: "The counterrevolution has prepared well for an armed attack against the government and only the resolute intervention of the army prevented it from implementing its bloodthirsty intentions. The counterrevolution still hopes to retrieve its losses."

Bonev closes his report by describing the miners, railroad workers and other working people's effort to increase production and adds that "certain collectives have voluntarily prolonged their working days by several hours in order to produce more goods." He notes that "discipline is systematically improving" and that "after so many days of chaos, anarchy and arbitrariness, reassuring and gratifying reports and news are more and more frequently reaching us."

The last report on this page of RABOTNICHESKO DELO is a 2,000-word dispatch from New York by correspondent Georgi Todorchev, entitled "The Policy of Double Standards," which refers to U.S. President Reagan's recent press conference on current world events. According to Todorchev this press conference revealed "the two-faced political and moral standards of the White House, the subjectivism of political leadership in the United States and its criteria in conducting that country's foreign and domestic policy." Todorchev cites Reagan stressing the necessity "to render psychological support to Poland" and adds that the President "threatened to permanently ban food supplies to the Polish population by distorting the goals and intentions of the present Polish Government." The Bulgarian correspondent adds in this connection: "The President considered it appropriate to address drastic accusation to the Polish Government for the measures adopted in order to normalize life in the country and he made obviously premeditated attempts to shift the 'responsibility' for events in Poland onto the Soviet Union with expressions, opinions and appeals which could easily be interpreted as interference in the domestic affairs of another country." Todorchev then describes statements by Richard Perle, U.S. deputy undersecretary of state for defense, who reportedly said that "if the situation in Poland develops beyond certain limits, the United States will discontinue its trade relations with the USSR and interrupt the SALT talks." Todorchev quotes the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR as saying that "It will depend on the level of resistance in Poland whether any measures against the Soviet Union should be adopted," and that "the Polish crisis may strengthen Reagan's position vis-a-vis Congress, when he demands an increase of military expenditures for 1983."

Todorchev adds that "political and ideological primitivism characterizes a number of official statements made these days in the United States." He quotes the WASHINGTON POST as noting "Reagan's attempts to blame the Soviets for the Polish crisis," and adds that "this actually fans anti-Polish and antisocialist hysteria among the monopolies' mass media." He further notes: "The screams of the emigres and extremists in this respect show an escalation since they have lost hope of bloodshed in Poland. It is a characteristic fact that the U.S. press passes over in silence, or plays down news and facts from Warsaw about a conspiracy against the government, and about the arming of subversive elements and their provocations, and that the U.S. press continues in editorials and commentaries to insinuate 'ideas' about sabotage and armed resistance against the government."

CSO: 2200/38

BRIEFS

PERUVIAN AMBASSADOR--On 14 December Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, received (Abraham Padelja Pendestu), Peruvian ambassador to Bulgaria, and gave a dinner in his honor in connection with his final departure from Bulgaria. [Text] [AU201510 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 14 Dec 81]

GEORGI KIRKOV SOCIETY SESSION--The Georgi Kirkov Society for the Dissemination of Scientific Knowledge closed its third national conference today. The participants were outstanding scholars, scientific workers, public figures and representatives of the mass media. They discussed the activities of lecturing propaganda and the results of the society's work during the 5 years that have elapsed since the last conference. The new republic conference of the society held a plenum at which a 19-member executive bureau was elected. Prof Nikola Stefanov, head of the BCP Central Committee Science and Education Department, was elected new chairman of the Georgi Kirkov Society. [Text] [AU201510 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 18 Dec 81]

STOYAN MIKHAYLOV AT EDUCATION MEETING--On 16 December a conference took place at the BCP Central Committee at which some urgent tasks of the professional training of the students springing from the decisions of the BCP Central Committee July 1979 plenum and the 12th BCP Congress, as well as from the postulates of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, worked out by the 24 October national conference were discussed. The conference was attended by secretaries of the BCP okrug committees, deputy ministers and first secretaries of the Komsomol okrug committees. Stoyan Mikhaylov, BCP Central Committee secretary, chaired the meeting. Aleksandur Fol, minister of national education, spoke at the conference. [AU201510 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 16 Dec 81]

LILOV IN VIDIN--On 17 December in Vidin, new and reconstructed shops of the city's chemical combine were commissioned. The celebration was attended by Comrade Aleksandur Lilov. [AU201510 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 17 Dec 81]

CEMA CONFERENCE IN SOFIA--A 3-day international conference organized by the Academy for Social Sciences and Social Management at the BCP Central Committee began in Sofia today. Bulgarian scientists-economists and their colleagues from the European member countries of CEMA are discussing the role of the economic mechanism in achieving the strategic trend in the economic policy of the socialist countries (as related to the economy). [Text] [AU201510 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 15 Dec 81]

BOZHINOV IN VARNA--A conference of the Varna okrug party, state, economic and public aktiv was held today. Dimitur Popov, first secretary of the Varna okrug party committee, chaired the conference. Todor Bozhinov attended the conference and spoke about the tasks stemming from the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress. He outlined the trends toward the socioeconomic development of the country during the Eighth 8-Year Plan and up to 1990 based on comprehensive intensification. Touching more precisely on the problems expected to be solved by the counterplans of the worker's collectives, Comrade Bozhinov emphasized that they must be elaborated on the basis of the further automation of the production processes, implementation of new technologies, thrifty use of the raw and processed materials and power supply, expansion of the raw and power supply base and full utilization of production capacities. [Text] [AU201510 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 16 Dec 81]

BOZHINOV IN MIKHAYLOVGRAD--Comrade Todor Bozhinov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, today met the Mikhaylovgrad Okrug Party Committee Bureau and the Okrug People's Council Executive Committee. Anastas Purvanov, first secretary of the okrug party committee, briefed Todor Bozhinov on the okrug's success in fulfilling its 1981 industrial plan. Todor Bozhinov spoke about the effectiveness of the counterplans, emphasizing that the worker collectives have to request detailed elaboration of these plans regarding the automation of production and for a program of reduced utilization of materials, fuels and manual labor. [AU201510 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 19 Dec 81]

ZHIVKOV SPEECH TO STUDENTS--Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 8 December 1981 carries on pages 1 and 2 a 1,400-word report on a meeting of Sofia University students with members of the Politburo, headed by Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council. The report includes a brief, 300-word summary of Todor Zhivkov's address to the students congratulating them on their holiday and dwelling on the country's socioeconomic successes and on the share of Bulgarian youths in these achievements. The report closes with the following words: "Comrade Todor Zhivkov also dwelt on certain topical issues of the contemporary international situation," without giving further details on Zhivkov's foreign policy comments. [Editorial Report] [AU091720]

SENEGALESE VISITOR ARRIVES--At the invitation of the BCP Central Committee, (Oumart Dransoko) deputy secretary general of the Party of Independence and Labor of Senegal, arrived in Sofia today. He was welcomed at Sofia airport by Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary, and by other officials. [Text] [AU061450 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 5 Dec 81]

FINNISH AMBASSADOR RECEPTION--Esko Kalevra Vaartela, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Finland in our country, gave a reception at the embassy in Sofia tonight, on the occasion of Finland's national holiday--the day of the proclamation of independence. The reception was attended by Comrade Petur Tanchev; Angel Ralevski, chairman of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences; members of the government; and heads of diplomatic missions accredited in Sofia. The reception proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. [Text] [AU081802 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 7 Dec 81]

BULGARIAN-CSSR TRADE PROTOCOL--A protocol on the trade exchange between Bulgaria and the CSSR was signed at the Ministry of Internal Trade and Public Services on 3 December. It envisages an increase in the supply of consumer goods to the internal markets during the coming year. [Text] [AU031458 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 3 Dec 81]

PEKO TAKOV IN VELIKO TURNOVO--On 6 December Peko Takov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the State Council, met the students and faculty of Veliko Turnovo's Kiril and Metodiy University and greeted them on 8 December--the day of Bulgarian students. [AU071031 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 6 Dec 81]

NEW U.S. AMBASSADOR--Robert L. Barry, newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United States of America has arrived in our country. [Text] [AU051026 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Dec 81 p 2]

DELEGATION'S RETURN FROM AFRICA--The BCP Central Committee delegation, headed by Penka Astadzhova, member of the BCP Central Committee and deputy chairman of the BCP Central Committee Organizational Department, has returned to our country. The delegation visited the People's Republic of Congo and the People's Republic of Benin from 17 through 29 November 1981 for an exchange of experiences in party-organizational work. A cooperation plan for the 1981-83 period was signed between the BCP and the Congolese Workers Party during this visit. [Text] [AU051026 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Dec 81 p 8]

STOYAN MIKHAYLOV ACTIVITIES--Stoyan Mikhaylov, BCP Central Committee secretary, received a group of scientific workers from the Institute of Contemporary Social Theories, headed by Prof Radomir Bogdanov, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the United States and Canada Institute, and Prof Georg (Grassnig), head of the GDR Institute for Economics and Politics. The meeting proceeded in a cordial, comradely atmosphere. Stoyan Mikhaylov briefed his guests on the work of our scientific and ideological front in implementing the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress. Rusi Kararusinov, director of the Institute for Contemporary Social Theories and by Emil Markov, head of the BCP Central Committee International Information Group, also attended the talks. [Text] [AU051026 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Dec 81 p 8]

BULGARIAN-GDR AGREEMENT--A cooperation plan between the Bulgarian painters' union and the GDR painters' union was signed in Sofia yesterday for the period of 1982. [Text] [AU051026 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Dec 81 p 6]

TODOR BOZHINOV IN VARNA--On 3 December Todor Bozhinov met the students of Varna's higher machine-electrotechnical school and spoke on the new tasks facing the scientific intelligentsia. [AU051026 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 3 Dec 81]

DIPLOMATS IN SHUMEN OKRUG--On 3 December chiefs of diplomatic missions accredited in Sofia accompanied by Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, arrived in Shumen. They will spend 3 days in Shumen Okrug and visit sites related to Bulgaria's 1,300th anniversary as well as industrial plants. [AU051026 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 3 Dec 81]

PEKO TAKOV AT MEETING--On 3 December in Sofia the day of Bulgaria's constitution was marked in a festive meeting which took place at the Ivan Vazov People's Theater. The meeting was attended by comrades Peko Takov, Petur Tanchev and other officials. [AU051026 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 3 Dec 81]

PENCHO KUBADINSKI AT RECEPTION--On 3 December Yigletu Ashagrie, Ethiopian ambassador to Bulgaria, gave a cocktail party in honor of the visiting Ethiopian delegation for the session of the joint Bulgarian-Ethiopian Commission on Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation. The cocktail party was attended by Comrade Pencho Kubadinski, chairman of the Bulgarian side of the commission. [AU051026 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 3 Dec 81]

STOYAN MIKHAYLOV RECEIVES PZPR GROUP--On 3 December Comrade Stoyan Mikhaylov received the PZPR Central Committee press, radio and television department working group which is visiting Bulgaria. The working group was briefed on the activity of the Bulgarian mass media. [AU051026 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 3 Dec 81]

LEADERS MEETINGS WITH STUDENTS--A meeting of students from the Karl Marx Higher Economic Institute with Comrade Andrey Lukyanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, was held at the Georgi Kirkov Hall in Sofia today. On the occasion of the students international holiday the students of the Mining-Geological Higher Institute met Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary. [Text] [AU051026 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 4 Dec 81]

LEADERS AT STUDENT'S CELEBRATIONS--Bulgarian leaders continued meeting students in Bulgaria in connection with their holiday. Thus Grisha Filipov met the students and teachers of the Dimitur Blagoev Higher Economic Institute in Varna. In his speech he emphasized the need for more fully implementing the scientific-technical achievements as well as the role of Bulgarian students in building a developed socialist society. Pencho Kubadinski met with the students of the Kliment Okhridski University in Sofia, and Stanko Todorov met the students of the Higher (?Chemical)-Technological Institute in Sofia. Geogri Yordanov greeted the students of the Prof Asen Zlatarov Higher Chemical-Technological Institute in Burgas and Petur Dyulgerov met the students in Blagoevgrad. [AU051026 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 4 Dec 81]

SPORTS COOPERATION WITH LIBYA--Sofia, 4 Dec (BTA)--The first protocol on cooperation in the field of physical culture and sports was signed here today by Bulgaria and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. The protocol provides for exchange of experience between sports specialists and coaches in weightlifting, gymnastics on the apparatus, track-and-field, as well as in the field of mass sport at the industrial enterprises. The document also provides for cooperation in training the representative teams of the two countries, in the propaganda of the physical culture and sports. A Bulgaro-Libyan commission for sports cooperation is in the process of founding for the purpose. [Text] [AU051026 Sofia BTA in English 1352 GMT 4 Dec 81]

LILOV IN TURGOVISHTE--On 2 December Comrade Aleksandur Lilov, and the BCP okrug secretaries on ideological matters from northeastern Bulgaria took part in an expanded plenum of the BCP Turgovishte okrug organization, which dealt with the ideological work of the party and its role in forming the working people's working and sociopolitical activity. [AU051026 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 2 Dec 81]

TAKOV IN VELINGRAD--A conference organized by the Economic Tourist Association has been held in Velingrad. Peko Takov, chairman of this association and BCP Central Committee Politburo member, chaired the conference, which decided to take measures to meet the growing needs of the Bulgarian citizens. [AU051026 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 3 Dec 81]

DZHUROV AT ANNIVERSARY MEETING--A festive meeting was held at the central club of the Bulgarian People's Army today to mark the anniversary of the Red Army victory against the German fascists near Moscow. Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense; Col Gen Kiril Kosev, head of the people's army main political administration; as well as deputy ministers of defense, generals and officers of the army; veterans of the great fatherland war; and many officials attended the meeting. Nikita Tolubeyev, ambassador of the USSR to Bulgaria, and military attaches of socialist countries accredited in Sofia also attended. Col Gen Khristo Dobrev, first deputy minister of national defense, delivered an address on the heroism of the Soviet Army in this first defeat of major importance inflicted upon fascist Germany during World War II. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 7 Dec 81 AU]

SOVIET DEPUTY MINISTER VISIT--Yevgeniy Stepanovich Matveyev, USSR deputy minister of the Heavy and Transport Machine Building Ministry, opened an exhibition in Sofia tonight, at which various machines and equipment used in the mining industry were displayed. Jiya Kharalambiev, deputy minister of the Bulgarian Ministry of Machine Building and Electronics [as heard], delivered a speech at the opening. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 7 Dec 81 AU]

YAKHIEL VISITS FRANCE--A Bulgarian Communist Party study delegation headed by Central Committee member Niko Yakhiel visited France 23 through 28 November at the PCF's invitation. The delegation was informed of the PCF's activity in the cultural sphere. [Text] [PM091505 Paris L'HUMANITE in French 28 Nov 81 p 9]

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES OUTGOING PERUVIAN AMBASSADOR--Comrade Todor Zhivkov has received Mr Abraham [name indistinct] Tempesto, Peruvian ambassador to Bulgaria, in connection with his final departure from the country. Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, also attended the talks. [Text] [AU081755 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 8 Dec 81]

CPSU DELEGATION VISIT--Ognyan Doynov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member, received the visiting CPSU Central Committee working group headed by Viktor [as heard] Isayev, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Construction Department. They held a cordial and comradely talk on problems of party leadership in industry, construction and building materials. The talk was attended by Stanoy Yonev, head of the BCP Central Committee Architecture and Construction Department. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 23 Nov 81 AU]

BULGARIAN-ALGERIAN ENGINEERING COOPERATION--Algiers, 30 Nov (BTA)--A Bulgarian-Algerian protocol was signed here today on expanding Bulgarian-Algerian cooperation in mechanical engineering. At the talks held here between the representatives of the two countries the two sides agreed on cooperation in the manufacture of various machines and spares, in the electronics and electrical engineering, in mining, etc. The two sides also agreed on cooperation in some branches of the light industry. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1350 GMT 30 Nov 81 AU]

BCP DELEGATION TO FRANCE--At the invitation of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party a working group of the BCP Central Committee led by Niko Yakhiel, BCP Central Committee member, visited France from 23 to 28 November. The working group studied the work of the French communists with the intellectuals. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 1 Dec 81]

BCP DELEGATION TO PRAGUE--At the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee, a BCP Central Committee delegation headed by Comrade Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, left for Prague today. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 23 Nov 81 AU]

BULGARIAN-CZECH PROTOCOL--A protocol on trade and payments in 1982 between Bulgaria and the CSSR has been signed in Prague. The protocol provides for an increase in the mutual exchange of trade by 9.8 percent as compared with 1981. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 26 Nov 81 AU]

TAKOV IN STARA ZAGORA--Comrade Peko Takov has attended a celebration in Stara Zagora upon presentation of the Georgi Dimitrov order to Velko Dimitrov, a former partisan leader. A letter from Todor Zhivkov to Velko Dimitrov was also read in which Zhivkov congratulated him on being awarded this high order. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 26 Nov 81 AU]

BRITISH DELEGATION VISIT--Comrade Petur Tanchev received the delegation of the British members of parliament visiting Bulgaria headed by (Royster Hughs), chairman of the British parliament section for friendship with Bulgaria. The meeting was attended by Mitko Grigorov, deputy chairman of the State Council and by Jill Bullard, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United Kingdom to Bulgaria. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 27 Nov 81 AU]

CYPRIOT DEMOCRATIC PARTY DELEGATION--At the invitation of the Fatherland Front National Council, a delegation of the Cypriot Democratic Party led by (Gerakos Papadimitriou), member of the party Central Committee Politburo, arrived in Bulgaria on 29 November. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 29 Nov 81 AU]

CSO: 2200/36

WOMAN'S IMAGE IN SOCIALIST LITERATURE CRITICIZED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 166, 12 Nov 81 'iwe-kultur' supplement

[Report from Berlin: "Criticism of Woman's Image in GDR Literature." A translation of the East Berlin SONNTAG article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] East Berlin's literary historian Karin Hirdina sees "good reasons" for a "socialist feminism" in view of woman's image as portrayed in the literature of the GDR during the last 2 to 3 years. In many books by male authors women are only "something like stepping-stones on the road of the hero." There is a predominance of the "cliche of the emotional and sentimental woman," and it seems that the image men have of women is an "almost biological concept," as if it were the "nature" of the woman to be compliant, sympathetic and compassionate, mother and responsible for all warmth and humaneness in life. Books by female authors "all too frequently" contain "nothing but the reversal of patriarchally colored images of men and women." Books are populated with "feeble, somewhat dopey men, nothing more than silhouettes that can hardly be taken seriously." "Against their will," women who had been victimized by excessive demands "betrayed the goal of their longings: to feel secure under the protection of these scorned men." In reality they did not want their "freedom" at all. (SONNTAG 45/81)

GDR Scholar's Critique

East Berlin SONNTAG in German Vol 35 No 45, 8 Nov 81 p 4

[Summary of paper on 'The Women and the Literature of the GDR,' presented by Dr Karin Hirdina as main topic at Cultural League conference, sponsored by Central Commission on Literature, Leipzig, 6-7 November 1981: "The Difficulty of Saying I"]

[Text] The number of women writers in the GDR is remarkable. Anna Seghers and Christa Wolf--well, we have already grown accustomed to them, they are classics in our literature. But approximately since the middle of the 1970's many names have been added: Renate Apitz, Helga Koenigsdorf, Brigitte Martin, Beate Morgenstern, Doris Paschiller, Rosemarie Zeplin....The phenomenon is a sign of cultural progress: Progress in the emancipation of woman. And simultaneously: Never before has so much been written about the difficulties of this emancipation. By women themselves. A basic topic: the double burden on women between work and family. As has been

the case in the past, women still feel responsible for the (private) reproductive sphere--the responsibility in society's production sphere has been added.

Has emancipation--once an area of new promises of happiness--become a burden? Do we, perhaps, need a socialist feminism? If we only consider the literature of the last 2 or 3 years (and they are the topic of this discussion), it appears that there are good reasons for it when one looks more closely at the picture created by male and female writers. Example: Erwin Strittmatter's "Wundertaeter" [Miracle Worker] Volume III. I have only one objection to his book: With respect to the characterization of women, Strittmatter does not go beyond cliches. His Buedner is loved by several women, all of whom exist only in reference to him, the man.

As happened already much earlier--in Dieter Noll's "Werner Holt"--women are something like stepping stones on the road of the hero (that was Guenter de Bruyn's biting satire at that time). Katharina, the practically gifted, naive soul. Sawade, the emancipated woman without any inclination for everyday things. And Rosa: Behind all appearances of emancipation (studies in Moscow, political experiences, own biography), the real person is revealed, "the adorable witch," "girlish, irresistible." In addition there is the atmosphere: the tamed jackdaw in front of the window during the night of love. The whole thing is on the borderline of kitsch.

Even more annoying: John Erpenbeck's "Der blaue Turm" [The Blue Tower]. The name of the main character is Bettina, who is telling the story in the first person. To make sure that everybody understands the richness of the reference of the name, she is portrayed as a romanticist, unreasonable. Her answer: "I would rather fail than become what you call reasonable. I hate your cold, analyzing, practical reason." It appears that it is gradually becoming fashionable here to denounce rationality and put in its place "human and warm" feelings. The romanticist's life is controlled by her feelings. The anonymity of modern scientific operations, pressure to produce--does not appeal to her. Goethe would probably have called her a "romantic nut." The bad thing about it: Erpenbeck seems to be serious, even when he insists that he also wants to show the dangers of the romantic lifestyle in his portrayal of Bettina. He uses the cliche of the sentimental and emotional woman to warn against the disappearance of feelings, against rationalistic-male bias. Nevertheless, even the language demonstrates painfully how a man envisions female feelings. The night with the lover: "The miracle happened, we really became one, he handled my body with strength and tenderness." The male claim to dominance is even apparent in the choice of words. It could present feminists of the purest conviction with a worthy tool for devastating polemics.

A third example: Erich Koehler's "Hartmut und Joana." Joana, the career woman, finally mayor, at liberty in the choice of her lovers, an example of a capable, emancipated woman, has lost all interest in poetry, human charity. Hartmut perishes. An "unnatural" woman. It seems as if in the minds of men women are almost pictured as biological beings. The "nature" of women is to be affectionate, intuitive and sympathetic, mother and in charge of all warmth and humanity in life. And: She lives, above all, in reference to man. She is like a mirror which has no substance until a man looks into it. These books contain very little evidence of a historical change in the image of patriarchal longings and norms, and, consequently, not much can be found about the real social conditions and conflicts under which women live in our society.

Therefore we need the statements by women themselves, their authentic experiences. But: after reading the most recent works by female authors I quickly gave up a tentatively adopted feminine position. All too often nothing else can be found but a mere reversal of patriarchically portrayed images of men and women. Actions are a result of revenge against the "male society." Weak, somewhat dopey men are populating the books, nothing but silhouettes that can hardly be taken seriously. Or—as an added pendant: The women, as victims of excessive demands, betray against their will the goal of their longings: to be secure in the care of one of these reviled men. In reality they do not want their "freedom" at all. Brigitte Martin's Edith, for instance ("Nach Freude anstehn" [Lining Up for Joy], bursts out saying: "Yes, I make all decisions myself and I do everything myself because I do not have a man who knows what he wants." Even the liberated woman is nothing but a victim. Even she sees herself as a mirror that has not substance--without a man.

The difficulty for women to determine their own selves. The frame of reference: the ordinary day, the private sphere. The behavioral demands within the family and the object-oriented, sober attitudes in the working world do not go together. Interestingly, several female authors choose technical professions for their characters (Martin, Paschiller, Zeplin), where the contract between traditional and new demands on abilities is probably particularly apparent. But only the possibilities are there; the female authors are squandering opportunities of exploiting the severity of this conflict. Work outside the home only doubles the duties and demands, there is nothing in it that provides an opportunity to develop one's own potential, a prerequisite for real emancipation.

These books contain little about authentic work experience by women. There is no differentiation when it comes to the demands of gainful employment and the motivation exhibited. It would certainly be different for someone who does assembly work than it is for the female scientist. (Maxi Wunder's "Guten Morgen, du Schoene" [Good Morning, Beautiful] remains unequaled. There is also little mention of any expansion in communicative relations by working women. Only Doris Paschiller ("Die Wuerde" [Dignity]) places greater significance on social relations outside the family, connected with professional activities. Her book is a certain exception anyway. It deals with the problems in the lives of women, treating not only the dualism of a guilty men's world and an innocent women's world, but she shows how they are more or less interrelated. The marriage Paschiller tells us about is suffering from the inability of both partners to understand each other. Lack of communication and talking is a danger that can be experienced not only in marriage but also in social relationships outside this private sphere--that is her topic. It is an effort of delving into social problems instead of merely insulting men.

In our literature, the search of many women for their own selves, which no longer can only be a one-way mirror, often is still marked by a lack of freedom. The women are only victims, men are only villains. For a long time, however, women have been co-villains themselves, they reproduce cliches that have been handed down or they only reverse them. It seems to me that this literary trend is a "proper" variation of feminist bias. The dimension of history--presence--future has been lost, the mere stock-taking of empirical reality is dominating. The consequence, however, is a reduced stock-taking. Conflicts are becoming mere problems, problems get blown up into conflicts.

The exceptions: In "Kein Ort. Nirgends." [No Place. Nowhere.] and in her essays about the Guenderrode and Bettina von Arnim, Christa Wolf introduced philosophic-historic and world-historic dimensions. There is some sadness in the realization that the conflicts that are a product of history have not yet been solved and that emancipation has become a human task; only this dimension makes it possible to replace norms and relationships marked by claims to domination with others that are solidaric relationships--even between the sexes. Only the process of socialist-communist development will provide an opportunity to overcome the traditional division of labor and roles. The difficulty of saying I is not a woman's question.

The other exception: a male author. Guenter de Bruyn creates female characters who apparently are nothing else but the embodiment of patriarchal dreams. Elke in "Maerkische Forschungen" [Research in the Mark]--like Irene in "Preisverteilung" [Awarding of Prizes]--is a very "natural" woman: the center of the family, functioning within the responsibilities of the family atmosphere, the household, the children. But it is exactly this concept that is treated with irony by the author because it is the male viewpoint. Of course, De Bruyn feels that the characteristics are important that have been acquired by women while caring for the family: intuitiveness, common sense. But by tying these characteristics and demands only to the woman, the man will eventually become a comical character and suffer damage (as happened to Poetsch).

In world history, the problem of emancipation can only be solved in reference to women and men and also, it consists not only of a mere change of consciousness. If there is nothing but a lament about a condition, the consciousness of this task will be lost and literature will be satisfied with treating the symptoms.

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BRIEFS

CANADA DEVELOPMENT MINISTER VISITS--Horst Schmidt, minister of development and cooperation from Alberta, Canada who visited our country, today had a talk with Gheorghe Vlad, minister of Petroleum, on the concerns and results achieved in the oil and gas industries in Romania and Alberta, Canada, and on concrete actions to develop cooperation between the two sides. [Text] [AU111510 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 11 Dec 81]

INTERNATIONAL MEDIA ATTENDANCE--"The big Bucharest peace march of over 300,000 citizens of Bucharest and the country's counties and the big mass rally devoted to overall disarmament, security, cooperation and peace is enjoying a particular international response." All major press agencies reported this important event and cited from President Nicolae Ceausescu's speech on the need for an end to the arms race, for peace, security and detente. TASS, for instance, stressed the "support of the Romanian working people for the appeal of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front for disarmament and peace" as reflected in the large participation in today's peace march in Bucharest. ASSOCIATED PRESS reported on the march while it was still underway. Other press agencies, including TANJUG, also devoted appropriate coverage to this event. [Summary] [AU051911 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 5 Dec 81]

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES INDONESIAN ENVOY--Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, today received Brig Gen Soesidarto, ambassador of Indonesia in Bucharest, on a farewell visit in connection with the end of his mission in our country. The ensuing talk took place in a cordial atmosphere. [Text] [AU081645 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 8 Dec 81]

CEAUSESCU INTERVIEW WITH ITALIAN JOURNALIST--Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu today received Italian journalist (Arturio Pelegrini) of the daily IL POPOLO to whom he granted an interview. [Text] [AU081644 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 8 Dec 81]

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES BULGARIAN ENVOY--Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the republic, today receive Petur Danailov, ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in Bucharest, on a farewell visit in connection with the end of his mission to our country. The ensuing talk took place in a warm and comradely atmosphere. [Text] [AU101446 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 10 Dec 81]

CEAUSES CU RECEIVES ITALIAN JOURNALIST--Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu today received Italian journalist (Letto Repeta), special envoy of the daily CORRIERE DELLA SERA. The meeting was attended by Comrade Eugen Forescu, deputy section chief at the party Central Committee. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu gave an interview on this occasion for the daily CORRIERE DELLA SERA. [Text] [AU091654 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 9 Dec 81]

CSO: 2700/103

DEMOCRATIC SITUATION ANALYZED IN LIGHT OF LATEST CENSUS

Impressions From Statisticians' Gathering

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian No 199, 10 Oct 81 pp 14-15

[Text] An unprecedented demographic explosion is continuing. Last year there were 4.3 billion people living on our planet. There will be about 6 billion of them by the end of this century. What is the demographic situation in Yugoslavia? What are the principal problems of public policy in this area? What conclusions are suggested by this year's population census?

We sought answers to these questions in Novi Sad, where last week the regular annual meeting of Yugoslav statisticians and demographers took place. For 3 days the top experts from the entire country discussed reproduction of the Yugoslav population, i.e., births and deaths, changes in the population and changes in the age-specific composition--those things on which renewal of the entire population depends.

The basic conclusion of this meeting was expressed by Dr Milos Macura, member of the academy. Put briefly--renewal of the population in Yugoslavia has not been taking place as recorded in the relevant documents. That is, whereas the average length of life has been extended, and the mortality rate reduced or kept at the same level, the movement of the birth rate has been mixed. It has been in line with the expectation in Slovenia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro, but it has been contrary to the expectation in Vojvodina, Croatia, and Serbia proper on the one hand, and in Kosovo on the other.

Adverse Trends

"For a quarter of a century now the net rate of reproduction in Serbia proper, Vojvodina and Croatia has been below the level necessary for reproduction of the population," Dr Macura said. "On the other hand in Kosovo that rate has dropped only slightly. These are extremely unfavorable trends from the demographic and social standpoint, and in Kosovo from the economic and humanitarian standpoints as well. After all, in one region we have depopulation and aging of the population on a large scale, while in another we have an overpopulation which is difficult to endure. Thus instead of the demographic differences diminishing, they have been increasing over the last 10 years."

What are the prospects for halting these adverse trends? Recent research conducted in regions with low fertility has shown that there are not many reasons for optimism. That is, not only are the women in these regions not planning a sufficient number of children, but their conception of the ideal family is not one which would ensure simple reproduction of the population!

In the words of Dr Gordana Todorovic, the opinions of married women are especially disturbing in Serbia proper and Vojvodina. In a survey they favored, in the language of averages, of course, a family of 2.21 and 2.28 children, respectively. Yet if simple reproduction is to be ensured under the present conditions of births and deaths, married women would have to give birth to an average of 2.5 children!

The measures taken in that direction up to now have not yielded the anticipated results. Dr Macura says:

"Amendments of the law on marriage, liberalization of abortion, extension of maternity leave and enlargement of the network of institutions for children--all these are necessary and worthwhile improvements. Nevertheless, they are only partial measures insufficient to essentially correct the situation. A large number of the causes of the low birth rate still persist: high unemployment, unfavorable housing conditions, unfavorable conditions for the creation and growth of the family, and so on."

Birth Control

There was quite a bit of discussion in Novi Sad about birth control as a method of family planning. Dr Gordana Todorovic made an interesting observation about how family planning differs from one part of Yugoslavia to another, but the result is the same--a low birth rate! She says:

"Whereas married women in Slovenia and Croatia prevent conception by contraception, women in Serbia and Vojvodina decide on abortion. About 80 percent of the pregnancies of married women in Slovenia end in a live birth. However, in Serbia less than 50 percent of the pregnancies of married women end in live birth, and almost exactly the same percentage end in abortion. We thus have a paradox: pregnancy taken to term is higher in Slovenia than in Serbia proper, though there are barely half as many conceptions there! There is no point in even talking about how harmful this 'model' held by women in Serbia and Vojvodina is."

Kosovo and parts of Macedonia stand in contrast to these regions; there people are still not sufficiently aware of the need for birth control. In the words of Olga Ivanova, the traditional social norms concerning marriage and the size of the family in Macedonia are expressed in the high number of births, specifically among the Albanian and Turkish populations. There is hardly any use of contraceptive devices, nor any limitation of the number of births. Ivanova says:

"In Macedonia the Albanian and Turkish populations have a higher natural increase. In opstinas with the highest representation of these groups the natural increase is also the highest. Tetovo, Gostivar, Kicevo, Struga, Kumanovo and Debar opstinas are typical in this respect."

The Problems of Kosovo

The drop in the birth rate in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia confirms the thesis of demographers that the birth rate drops during industrialization and rapid socioeconomic development. The changing of circumstances which have an effect on reproductive behavior have brought about a very rapid drop in the number of births in those regions. The drop in fertility has been especially rapid in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Developments in Kosovo represent an exception to all this. Dr Macura explains:

"Kosovo has had slower economic development than the other regions and has been lagging behind them. That is why the gap between Kosovo and Slovenia, which is the most advanced region in the country, is almost 1:2 today. But that cannot be the reason why fertility in Kosovo is not declining at the necessary rate, since Kosovo has unquestionably experienced important changes in the economic structure, the social structure and the composition of the population. Normally such transformations would have to bring about a faster drop in the birth rate."

For the demographic conditions in Kosovo to change as they have elsewhere in the country, Dr Macura feels, the net rate of reproduction of its population ought to be about 25 percent lower than it is, judging by the experience of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia. But judging by the experience of the other regions, that rate ought to be all of 50 percent lower. Why isn't it?

"Since neither the large drop in the mortality rate, nor the relatively favorable socioeconomic factors have not calmed down the birth rate in Kosovo, we must assume that only conservative social forces could have brought about the persistence of the old model," Dr Macura said. "Those forces must have prevented the flow of information on up-to-date birth control, detracted from the importance of family planning and nurtured outdated social standards and an outdated ideology, acting through the institutions of religion, patriarchal family authority and in other ways."

Everyone Is Practicing Family Planning

The statisticians and demographers at the conference in Novi Sad also discussed a number of other interesting questions.

Dr Stane Krasovec, a member of the academy from Slovenia, for example, said that there has long been a fear among Marxists whenever the issue of family planning was raised. It is supposedly anti-Marxist to discuss that. But today even the Chinese are beginning to practice family planning, though, to be sure, it is presented as protection of the mother's health.

Dr Dusan Breznik, our prestigious demographer, said that the family of the future is a small family. ("Don't expect the man living on the 10th floor to have 5 children!") And further: the high birth rate is above all a question of people's education and awareness, since "the pill alone will not resolve humanity's problem."

Ante Novak, "the father of Yugoslav statistics," warned the statisticians present about the upcoming offensive by politicians. ("Imagine the pressure of the politicians on you! The speed at which you will have to work, the kind of data you will have to give! Preparation should be made for that offensive and erroneous interpretation of the data prevented by virtue of professional competence.")

The paper by Dr Alice Wertheimer-Baletic of Zagreb aroused polemical tones. She forecast that toward the end of this century Croatia will have a manpower shortage. There will be a shortage of about 80,000 workers!

The 3-day conference in Novi Sad is over. Dr Dusan Breznik, who chaired the conference, concluded:

"It is clear that there are none among us who do not wish humanity well. We all want people to live longer and for the death rate to be lower. However, when it comes to births, here we were unable to agree."

Interview With Ex-Director Novak

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian No 199, 10 Oct 81 pp 15-16

[Interview with Ante Novak, former director of the Federal Bureau of Statistics, by Branko Vukovic: "Our Makeup Is Important"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] The census has been taken, its first results are known and published. The official assessment is that the census succeeded beyond all expectation. What do you think?

[Answer] I think that on the basis of what we know so far it is very difficult to say whether this year's census has succeeded and to what extent. There is no question that the census of Yugoslavia as a whole is perfect. However, it is still an open question whether the data obtained in certain regions are altogether reliable. It would therefore be wise to wait for certain checks which should show the accuracy of the census data. Only then will we be able to make a competent assessment of the census.

[Question] There is a widespread belief that the statistics lie and that one should not put too much trust in them.

[Answer] The statistics do not lie, but lies are told by means of statistics. Unfortunately, this type of lie is still strongly manifested in our country. We therefore should require strict monitoring of statistical data.

[Question] The census results which have been published indicate that the basic elements of population policy are not being achieved.

[Answer] We have been warning for a long time that we need a well-thought-out population policy. Now we wonder what is going on with that policy. Do we have one at all? Like hell we have one! I am grateful to my colleagues in Ljubljana who denied the assertion that we have such a policy at least in Slovenia.

Unfortunately, a terrible "Marxist" prejudice still prevails everywhere in Yugoslavia: that these problems are resolved automatically and in and of themselves. And that is not true.

We have now come into a situation where it doesn't work anymore. The problems have grown to such a degree that they have become a serious hindrance to development. All the demographic events have become alarming. They warn us that if we do not make a radical change of direction immediately, we will have very grave conflicts and upheavals in the future.

[Question] Is the situation the same in the other socialist countries as well?

[Answer] The situation is not the same. That assertion that all the socialist countries are conducting the same population policy was made by a colleague back in 1973. Nonsense! I answered him by saying that he should see what our people are carrying into Romania and what they are bringing back. They were smuggling condoms in the direction of Bucharest and bringing back Gerovital! I don't know what the situation is now, since I am living in Ljubljana, but at that time the smugglers were doing a big business.

Policy Conducted Behind Closed Doors

[Question] Do we have enough public discussion of population policy?

[Answer] In a recent assembly I delivered a harsh attack on the way in which our population policy is conducted. Do you know what the politicians told me? "Consideration is after all given to this, it is just that nothing is said to the public." But I do not accept that kind of explanation. Excuse me, but I cannot abide a policy conducted behind closed doors! And what sort of political prejudice is it that does not allow discussion of the essential demographic issues?

[Question] Demographic developments are also showing up weaknesses in other special policies and not only population policy.

[Answer] Naturally. Take any policy you like, economic policy, housing policy, investment policy, health care policy, social welfare policy--they are all closely bound up with demographic trends.

Take investment policy. Had the comrades in Kosovo invested more in the manufacturing industry, they would have solved the problem of unemployment considerably more rapidly. There would then have been smaller emigration and less basis for the nationalistic outbreaks. We in Slovenia, on the other hand, have pushed the manufacturing industry, though we do not have manpower. That is why we now have 140,000 workers from other republics who have to be provided housing, health care, social welfare and so on. In Macedonia there was no polycentric investment policy, which is why they now have pressure on the cities and huge differences between the rural and urban areas. In Slovenia, however, where the pattern of investment was uniform, there are almost no backward villages. And so on. The linkage is obvious.

[Question] At the conference in Novi Sad you called attention to the fact that these trends can also in large part be affected by megalomania.

[Answer] The pressure and desire for there to be as many of us as possible date back a long way. At one time we asked when we would reach a population of 20 million. Today they are wondering in Macedonia when Skopje will become a city of 1 million inhabitants. Slovenian politicians ask when there will be 2 million of us in Slovenia. Perhaps it is difficult for them to remember anything but round numbers. But I ask: What does that bring us? That is primitivism! The important thing is the makeup and not the size of our population.

[Question] You advocate conscious and planned guidance of population?

[Answer] There is no other way. If we within the League of Communists and the Socialist Alliance lack a deliberate population policy, other forces do have one. Show me the church that does not have its own, and that a thoroughly deliberate population policy, its dogmas, its moral rules, its veto: "Do not have an abortion!" Do you suppose that the nationalistic forces do not have a population policy? "More children, as many children as possible, to increase our numbers!"

Take Kosovo. The statistics clearly show that the birth rate has been dropping just a bit, but the mortality rate has been dropping still faster, so that the natural increase is growing steadily. The credit for this can be given in large part to the Albanian nationalists, who have used the most perfidious means to augment the natural increase. "The more of us there are, the sooner we will create Great Albania!"

What have the organized social forces in Kosovo done in the field of family planning? Nothing! They have allowed the hodzas and the nationalists to launch the slogan: "As many children as possible!" And I love children, we all love children, but let us not exaggerate! Because of such an attitude we now have a situation where a portion of the population in Kosovo has objectively become a social and material burden. This results in basic differences in development, and here the principal factor is a demographic one, but it is being ignored in the current debates.

[Question] Can you explain that position in more detail?

[Answer] You see, according to the 1978 data the difference between Kosovo and Slovenia in terms of national income was 100:716. The people from Kosovo get excited: "The damned Slovenians have eaten up everything!" However, when the demographic factor is eliminated, this ratio becomes 100:448. In actuality the differences would be still smaller, since a portion of the forces would move from the area of consumption of national income into the area of creation of national income; that is, the consumer would become a producer.

Now, I can understand that worker in Ljubljana when he says: "I want to help, but let us make an agreement. If I have three children, then you have three, too, but not six, eight or 12. I want to give my children an education, too." Do not think that these facts are not taken into account in the common sense of our peasants and workers.

[Question] So, aid to Kosovo should be planned and organized?

[Answer] All the underdeveloped should be helped, not only Kosovo, but we must know in advance where that money is going. The help must be a function of our strategic goal which we wish to achieve. We know, for example, that at present the prices of certain products are lower in Pristina than in Belgrade or Split. Why? By what logic? Instead of teaching him to work, you are teaching him the opposite. There is a Chinese saying: "Do not give a hungry man a fish, but teach him to catch fish."

It is clear, then, that one of the things to do in seeking a way out is to lower the birth rate in Kosovo, since today it is the highest in Europe. I do not honor the argument that this touches upon someone's religious or moral convictions, since in essence these convictions are inherently political.

SFRY Population

<u>Republics and Provinces</u>	<u>Population</u>		
	<u>1971</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>Increase, %</u>
SFRY as a whole	20,523,000	22,352,000	8.9
Bosnia-Hercegovina	3,746,000	4,116,000	9.8
Montenegro	530,000	583,000	10.0
Croatia	4,426,000	4,576,000	3.3
Macedonia	1,647,000	1,914,000	16.2
Slovenia	1,727,000	1,884,000	9.0
Serbia	8,447,000	9,279,000	9.9
Serbia proper	5,250,000	5,666,000	7.9
Kosovo	1,255,000	1,585,000	27.4
Vojvodina	1,953,000	2,028,000	3.8
		<u>Natural Increase</u>	<u>Migration</u>
Serbia	799,106 (9.46)	33,164 (0.39)	
Serbia proper	333,682 (6.35)	82,017 (1.56)	
Vojvodina	72,760 (3.73)	2,946 (0.15)	
Kosovo	392,664 (31.57)	-51,799 (4.10)	

We Are All the Same in Loving Children

[Question] Some people explain the high growth rate by saying that certain nationalities have a traditional love of children.

[Answer] What next! This is a question of customs, dogmas, prejudices, primitivism and pressures, and is not because someone loves or does not love children. What will happen when population jeopardizes humanity's survival? Will we die of hunger because someone "loves children"?

[Question] One Kosovo author, Dr Musa Limani, regards the thesis that the natural population increase is having an adverse effect on economic development as anti-Marxist.

[Answer] I have not read that. However, this position, consciously or unconsciously, signifies a nationalistic position. Is it un-Marxist if we regulate haphazard processes by deliberate measures? If we have too little food, will we go ahead and raise the birth rate? What will that kind of "Marxist" do when population threatens our survival? These are all common sense questions we must be mindful of, even if someone tells us 100 times that we are anti-Marxists, neo-Malthusians and the like.

[Question] You have advocated what is referred to as a differentiated population policy.

[Answer] Our basic goals are to reduce the rate of natural increase and to diminish the large demographic differences from one region to another, and that necessitates a differentiated population policy. Where the natural increase is higher, it needs to be restricted. In regions where the natural increase is lower, it needs to be encouraged.

The basic contradictions have been manifested within SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia, where the differences between Kosovo and Vojvodina are huge. In future it is here that the main battle will be waged to normalize the birth rate and the rate of natural increase.

[Question] How is the rate of natural increase to be reduced?

[Answer] First of all, if we are to conduct a uniform policy, we must first make the individual and the masses aware, eradicating bad habits and preserving good ones. We will not achieve anything if we anathematize the woman who has given birth to 10 children, not even if we expel her husband from the League of Communists. No sort of practicalistic measures, especially coercion, can help.

The most important thing is to create a general climate of trust and tolerance. Every man and every woman must understand family planning, contraception, abortion, and so on. If we give support in that respect to the progressive forces in Kosovo, then the processes we have been speaking about will take a different course. Moreover, it is worth remembering that it is possible to act rather quickly and effectively in the realm of ideology, but changing morality and customs is a terribly slow process.

[Question] We are paying a high price for having neglected these issues so long.

[Answer] Mistaken strategic moves made in a society's development do not take their revenge immediately. We Yugoslav communists, and here I make no exception for even the highest leadership, have a bad habit of frequently putting off the resolution of burning issues. Our thinking is to let the issue ripen, later we will take care of it, we have more urgent business, and so on. The ordinary man understands this more quickly than so-called thinking people, since he is first to be hit in the head with the problem.

Forebodings in Serbian Assembly

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1610, 8 Nov 81
pp 17-19

[Article by Teodor Andjelic: "Population and Policy"]

[Text] For that small group of those who really know, the demographic crisis in Yugoslavia has lasted for a quarter of a century already. But only last week, in the assessment of the specialists--did a political body for the first time with real seriousness and in public--at times even in dramatic tones--discuss population policy, which for all practical purposes does not exist in most of Yugoslavia.

The reference is to the debate in the Assembly of SR Serbia and to the truly initial conversations concerning the way in which population is reproduced in that republic. In that republic (without the provinces), as indeed in most of the country, a process has been going on for 22 years at whose conclusion, should everything continue as up to now, "we must expect a disturbance to occur in the reproduction and composition of the population somewhere in the mid-21st century which cannot be otherwise described than catastrophic."

This is literally what is written in the study that was the point of departure for the debate in the assembly. This analysis was prepared by Dr Bogoljub Stojanovic, Dr Miroslav Macura, Tripo Mulina, Dr Miroslav Rasevic and Milos Macura, member of the academy, who was the editor. We immediately asked him to explain the meaning of the word "catastrophic."

Dr Milos Macura says that the situation is similar in Croatia and in Vojvodina. Should the current demographic process continue, those regions and Serbia proper would perhaps have even a 30-percent smaller population than today in the year 2050. And, what is particularly essential, that population would consist mostly of elderly people.

"Such a society," Dr Milos Macura said, "would not be able to perform its basic functions."

Eight Birth Rates

In the demographic sense Yugoslavia is the world in small, but with three important differences: our population is multiplying considerably more slowly than the world population, in which declining fertility, which is reaching the low European level, has the decisive role; second, the demographic differentiation of our republics and provinces is altogether different from the planetary differentiation; and finally, none of our regions has experienced the negative natural increase which has occurred in recent years in Europe.

There are several facts about what is called differentiation: Kosovo, as the only region with a very rapid demographic growth, has a share of only 7 percent in the population of Yugoslavia; Bosnia-Hercegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro, as sections with a growth that is slowing down, have a share of 30 percent;

Serbia proper, Croatia, Slovenia and Vojvodina, where growth is slow, comprise 63 percent of the population of Yugoslavia.

Differences from one political-administrative division to another in the birth rate and death rate are especially important, and they have been changing over the last three decades.

The number of live births was the highest in 1952--500,000, but since that time there has been a steady decline, reaching 381,000 in 1979.

The highest number of deaths (270,000) was recorded in 1951; by 1966 that number had dropped to 180,000, and then by 1979 it had risen to 191,000.

Thus the natural increase of Yugoslavia's population has dropped in 27 years from 302,000 to 190,000 people. The rate of natural increase has dropped most in Vojvodina (to one-fourth), in Croatia and Serbia proper (a drop of 2.9-fold), and then in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Montenegro (2.6- and 2.1-fold), while the drop has been moderate in Macedonia and Slovenia (1.8- and 1.6-fold, respectively), and altogether slight in Kosovo (a drop of 5 percent). It is interesting, however, as we were told by Dr Dusan Breznik, director of the Center for Demographic Research of the Institute of Social Sciences in Belgrade, that according to their surveys, for example, the number of conceptions is almost identical in Vojvodina and Kosovo.

Birth Control

Under "conditions of the full possibility of birth control" countries are rare in Europe where the so-called rate of reproduction is holding the level adequate to renew the population in the long run. In Yugoslavia that rate has been maintained only in Slovenia.

Bosnia-Hercegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro seem to completely confirm, in an almost textbook way, the classical demographic hypothesis concerning the declining pattern of the birth rate during industrialization and urbanization.

But Kosovo is an exception to this tendency. In that region fertility first rose and then showed a slow decline.

Dr Milos Macura says that Kosovo has also indubitably experienced important transformations of the economy, the population and society. "Such transformations would normally have had to result in a faster drop of the birth rate," Dr Macura says.

"Had demographic conditions been changing like others in the country, at Kosovo's present level of development the net rate of reproduction of its population ought to have been about 25 percent less than what it is judging by the experience of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro and all of 50 percent less judging by the experience of the other regions. Since neither the large drop in the death rate, nor the relatively favorable socioeconomic factors have been able to essentially alter reproductive behavior and slow down the birth rate," Dr Milos Macura said, "we must assume that only conservative social

forces could have tended to conserve the old model of reproduction of the population. They must have prevented the flow of information, reduced to a minimum the importance of family planning and nurtured outdated social standards and ideology, acting through the institutions of religion and patriarchal family authority."

Unprecedented

If current processes in Kosovo continue, by the year 2000 its population density would attain that of Great Britain, one of the most densely populated countries in Europe. Incidentally, the situation in Europe is now as follows: the number of new births is far below the level necessary to renew the population only in Albania and Ireland; 9 countries are slightly above that level, including the Soviet Union, thanks to the large number of newborn infants in the Asian republics; in the other 16 countries this number has for shorter or longer periods been below the level, and in at least 4 countries the annual number of births is below the number of deaths, so that the natural increase is negative.

Yugoslavia's Demographic Crisis

The European situation is also very important to Yugoslavia, since a majority of the European countries--and this can soon be expected in the major portion of our country--are conducting an explicit policy to encourage the birth rate. The methods related to that policy are in principle constructive, and only in exceptional cases are they restrictive (for example, in Romania and Bulgaria, where abortions and contraceptives are restricted to a considerable extent).

The policy of rehabilitation of the birth rate is older than the policy of reducing the birth rate. But it seems that the younger of these two policies is more important to most of the world. Naturally, because of a singular precedent throughout history: the world population increased from 2.5 to 4.4 billion over the last 30 years.

Postwar history seems to have pointed up the fact that in our final calculation even population cannot grow infinitely. In answer to our question about a possible natural, biological selection that would bring the size of the population into line with the planet's capabilities, Dr Dusan Breznik answered:

"I do not put any stock at all in such theories. And I especially don't take seriously those scholars who see a way out of the demographic explosion in genetic self-regulation of the human species."

Yet different groups of scholars offer differing answers to the new situation that has come about. One of the extreme positions--that a smaller population might be desirable--is defended by certain leading figures in the natural sciences. Within the science of demography there are also serious views to the effect that a negative growth is not catastrophic, but it appears that the prevailing view among the specialists is that the birth rate needs to be maintained at the level of simple reproduction of the population, and that not so much because of the size of the population, but primarily in order to avoid paralysis of society because of the tremendous number of elderly people.

Dr Milos Macura told us that the working group which had done this study for the Executive Council of the Assembly of Serbia had calculated which is more expensive: youth or old age? And they calculated that the social benefits for old age are threefold greater than possible expenditures for the policy to support the birth rate.

The Third Child

Today the burden of reproduction of the population has mostly been left to the family. All the costs of children are borne for a number of years mostly by the parents themselves. Let us add to that unemployment and the chronic housing crisis. One does not need to be very wise or highly educated to understand why we are reproducing ourselves at a low level! The fruits of "pleasure in poverty" may become, and are, very expensive!

The "Program of Measures To Support the Birth Rate" of that working group, attributes particular importance to the policy of family supplements. They need to be radically reformed; family supplements ought to cover all the expenses of children--costs which have not been socialized in one way or another. And, above all, the entire policy should be centered on the third child.

If our population is to be able to reproduce itself, it is indispensable that all women give birth to an average of 2.15 children. Since some of them do not wish this or cannot, the actual average is somewhat higher than 2.5 children.

All in all, taking into account the truly complicated series of different and mutually intertwined factors, the basic condition for simple reproduction of the population is the third child.

But in most of Yugoslavia today the predominant pattern is the one-child family, and according to the study of the working group, the number of children which parents want to have is smaller among almost all age groups of women than the ideal number of children for reproduction of the population. There is an exception in the older age groups of women (between the ages of 40 and 50) who naturally desire a number of children higher than the ideal. The ideal measure is this: 1,000 daughters for every 1,000 women. Here again the situation is extreme in Kosovo, where the average woman gives birth to two daughters.

The decline of the birth rate is a natural phenomenon which has occurred in every advanced country in the 20th century. But our society seems to have omitted to grapple with that pattern at the right time. The suggestions for conclusions of the debate in the Serbian Assembly include the following: "The population density and the set of natural conditions for conduct of economic activity and for living do not at all require that the population be restricted at its present size. However, in view of the depth of the decline of the birth rate and the tendency for it to decline further, it seems reasonable for simple reproduction to be established for the present as the optimum goal of population policy, which is a condition for avoiding all the far-reaching and unnecessary consequences in the future."

[Box, p 17] Yugoslavia and Kosovo

In the period from 1952 to 1979 Kosovo's contribution to the natural population increase of Yugoslavia increased from 22,000 to 41,000 (from 8 to 22 percent); the absolute contribution of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro dropped from 120,000 to 78,000; and the contribution of the other regions has been dropping in both absolute and relative terms. Within that framework, the "contribution" of Serbia proper has dropped from 73,000 to 37,000 (from 25 to 17 percent).

The differing rate of change of the mortality rate plays an important role in all this. It has been particularly rapid in the economically less developed regions. There the number of deaths was lower in 1979 than in 1952 by all of 20,000. In the other regions this number was 13,000 higher because of the aging of the population.

This very fact is a cause of differentiation: extending the length of life signifies an important reserve for the natural population increase, which in time is exhausted and then disappears altogether as the population grows older. But the number of new births has a very important role in differentiation of the natural population increase. Everywhere it has been dropping, but at different rates. The only exception is Kosovo; there the number of live births was 30 percent higher in 1979 than in 1952, though the birth rate dropped from 44.7 to 32.1 per 1,000 inhabitants.

In the postwar period the population of all parts of Yugoslavia has been growing all the while. To be sure, at a different pace and at differing rates which are dropping at a differing pace.

Demographic Computation

Regions	Birth Rate			Death Rate			Natural Increase		
	1952	1970	1980	1952	1970	1980	1952	1970	1980
Yugoslavia	29.8	17.8	16.9	11.8	8.9	8.8	18.0	8.9	8.1
Croatia	23.4	13.9	14.6	11.1	10.0	10.8	12.3	3.9	3.8
Vojvodina	23.8	13.0	13.4	12.1	10.2	10.9	11.7	2.8	2.5
Serbia proper	27.4	14.8	14.6	10.8	9.1	9.6	16.6	5.7	5.0
Slovenia	22.8	16.0	17.4	10.4	10.1	10.5	12.4	5.9	6.9
Montenegro	32.0	20.3	17.5	9.3	6.7	6.4	22.7	13.6	11.1
Macedonia	39.9	23.2	21.1	14.4	7.6	7.2	25.9	15.6	13.9
Bosnia-Hercegovina	40.2	21.4	16.5	12.5	7.1	5.9	27.7	14.3	10.9
Kosovo	44.7	30.5	31.4	17.4	8.9	6.3	27.3	27.6	25.1

Note: All rates are given per 1,000 inhabitants. The regions are listed in descending order on the basis of the rate of natural increase and the birth rate.

7045
CSO: 2800/133

STIPE SUVAR CITES CRITICS OF COMMUNIST PAST

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Nov 81 p 9

[Article by V. Vignjevic]

[Text] A conference was held today in the Section of the Federal Conference of the SAWPY for Education, Science, Culture, and Physical Education concerning the theme "Culture and Art in the Preservation of the Traditions of the Revolution." A number of cultural and public workers, as well as creative artists from all over the country, participated in this extremely interesting discussion, which was organized by this Section and by the Association of Cultural and Educational Communities of Yugoslavia.

"The preservation of the traditions of the revolution is an organized and very complex ideopolitical, cultural, and educational social activity which has its source in the revolution and which strives to give it a more genuine continuity," stressed Djordje Radisic, president of the Cultural and Educational Communities of Serbia, in his introductory report.

Emphasizing that this, the jubilee year of the uprising and the revolution has provoked this type of discussion in our country, Mladen Oljaca has supported the more precise establishment of the problems of all organized socialistic forces in implementing cultural policy. It has not been defined everywhere, especially in the manner set forth in the Resolution of the XI Congress of the LCY concerning the transformation of culture as part of the self-management process.

Having made two methodological observations, the first that one must be against the possible over-glorification of the approach to this subject, and the second that it is of value to avoid too narrow of a comprehension of culture and art, and to understand that the People's Liberation Struggle in its entirety was also a powerful cultural revolution, Comrade Stipe Suvar said the following:

"In literature, history, and sociology, a few theses of the petit bourgeois, the reactionary consciousness, have predominated in the treatments of our socialistic movement and struggles. Some representatives of the intelligentsia also promote these arguments; they say that the People's Liberation Struggle offered some verse, or some clamour, and nothing more. Or, they give another thesis which refers to Stalinism, treating it as the "original sin" of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia before the war and during the revolution, and not just

after liberation, which resulted from the conflicts in the literary left and from the Information Bureau. Even today, thousands of voices (of both the left and the right) argue loudly against this thesis. This is worth explaining, first of all, from the point of view that no left, which is not in the League of Communists, interests us, except as a petit bourgeois, radical opponent. If we follow the most widespread literary ideas which are in vogue in the young generation, these theses predominate, as well as the opinion that here, in this country, all creative people are persecuted today."

In the same line of thinking are also the theories concerned with the "poetry of resistance," with the redemption, for example, of Goran and Mazor "to atone for the sins of the rebels." This is nicely explained to us in literary gatherings in honor of the jubilee. These are subtle theses, but better suited for limited use in other countries; a modest export of trivial spiritual trappings. We must prove, contrary to these theses, that this so-called resistance, actually poetry during the revolution, with all of its plebian creators, was the destruction of the old world, and at the same time, our spiritual struggle. This means that we must consider the People's Liberation Struggle and the revolution as something which has not been completed; indeed, it still goes on, both today and tomorrow," said Suvar.

In addition to the greater number of written contributions, Prvoslav Ralic, Predrag Golubovic, Tome Momirovski, Ivan Potrc, and others also participated in the discussion. Although no conclusions have been made, on the basis of all the reports (and the dialogue concerning the same subject will be continued at the beginning of next year), one gets the impression that there remain quite a number of problems connected with this area which have not yet been sufficiently addressed, both from the political and the cultural point of view. And, it has become apparent that in that great task which still lies ahead of us the greatest burden must fall not only on the organizers of this meeting, but also on all other organized socialistic forces in our country.

9548
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ORTHODOX PAPER PROTESTS EQUATING VELIMIROVIC WITH STEPINAC

Belgrade PRAVOSLAVLJE in Serbo-Croatian 1-15 Aug 81 p 4

[Article by Dr Atanasije Jevtic: "Who Benefits From Leveling?"]

[Text] Under the department "Pretexts" OSLOBODJENJE of Sarajevo published on 7 July 1981 an article by the editor in chief Ljubisa Jaksic entitled "The Cleronationalists--Against Their Own Peoples," which is actually a commentary on the speech of Branko Mikulic delivered at Tjentiste on 4 July (see OSLOBODJENJE for 5 July).

It is neither "cleronationalism" nor "cleronationalist" (the names themselves are enough to show that we have nothing to do with this) which have brought us to take up that article and its pretext here, but the leveling we are familiar with and which has been consistently applied to us according to a criterion and method which need to be deliberately reassessed once again for the sake of the truth and for the benefit of history, both past and future.

After all, how otherwise is one to understand when the Orthodox people's brotherhoods of zealots and communities of peaceable and apolitical believers from among Serbian peasants and workers, who have nothing against them except supposedly their religious and ethnic identity, are compared to and equated with movements and associations which are not that, or which perhaps, precisely because of other charges, would in fact like such leveling? How, to go further, is one to understand when people like Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac and the Bishop of Zica Nikolaj Velimirovic are compared and equated at the same stereotyped level of the "war criminal"? We are neither thinking nor speaking here about the former, but in the name of historical truth we cannot but protest against placing the latter in the now stereotyped category of the "war criminal" solely because in his ideology he was an anticomunist, or, more accurately, an antitheist. (Among other things, there is the fact that during his internment in Vojvodina he rejected a German demand that he sign a condemnation of the communists, saying that the church can judge only atheism.) This kind of cheap political leveling neither serves the truth, nor, we are witnesses, does it yield desirable results, since it does not look the problems straight in the eye.

In his hallucinations of the horror that is to come from the "effects of this kind of organization of Orthodox believers," i.e., of Orthodox zealots (who, let us recall, began to "organize" during the sufferings on the Salonika front and

in subsequent tribulations), the newsman Lj. Jakšić mentions the alleged "war-criminal biography" of Bishop Nikolaj, but he does not know, or refuses to know, that Nikolaj's biography was better known to the Serbian zealots than he thinks. After all, there is probably no Orthodox Serb or other man in our country or in the world who does not know that Nikolaj spent 4 entire years of the war in German prisons and camps (Ljubostinja, Rakovica, Vojlovica, Vienna and Dachau), together with the Serbian Patriarch Gavrilo Dožić, and accordingly was neither a "war criminal," nor could he have had a "war-criminal" biography. For any normal human understanding there is probably a difference between a man who was immediately confined by the occupier, imprisoned and finally taken off to the camp at Dachau along with the head of his church, and others who freely carried on their deeds and their misdeeds under the fascists. (The fact that Patriarch Gavrilo returned to Yugoslavia after the notorious camp at Dachau, while Nikolaj did not is a matter of personal choice which does not justify his being labeled a "war criminal.")

Pious Serbian believers and their patriarchs and bishops like Nikolaj was did not have, nor did they create Dachau nor Jasenovac, common graves or forcible conversions, but along with their people they did indeed experience and survive them, if indeed they did survive. If their only "sin" was, or is even today, that they were and are men of living Orthodox faith, men who are opposed to having another theistic or atheistic faith or ideology imposed on them, then it truly is a falsification and shameless act to attribute to them a nonexistent "war-criminal biography." This language of calculated leveling (on the basis of which two Serbian priests were recently sentenced each to 6 years in prison) not only does not contribute to a sober confrontation of the truth, but casts a cloud and a shadow on clear examination of him who is a criminal and of him who is not a criminal even more than does the difference in religious, ideological, political and human conceptions.

If it is a question of discussing the truth, we are prepared to continue such a discussion with everyone who desires the truth.

7045
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STATUS OF AUTONOMOUS PROVINCES WITHIN SERBIA ARGUED

Belgrad: NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1609, 1 Nov 81
pp 21-22

[Article by Stevan Niksic: "Scholars Discuss the Provinces"]

[Text] Last week's discussion in the Political Science Association of SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia concerning the political system of SR Serbia and relations between the republic and the provinces began with an observation made by the association's president, Dr Radoslav Ratkovic, professor, to the effect that this is a "major historical problem." It is a problem whose background includes the activity, actions and motives of former generations, one which is of interest to the present generation, and one whose resolution will have an effect on future generations, Ratkovic observed, and he advocated that as many people as possible become involved in discussions of this kind. It was unfortunately obvious that this would remain no more than a fond wish, at least on this occasion. Representatives of the corresponding associations from the provinces, who had been invited, did not respond to the invitation to participate in the discussion. More accurately, the Political Science Association of SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo sent one of its members, who did attend, but said nothing, and no one came from the Vojvodina association.

Agreement was reached on the assessment that relations between the republic and the provinces are in every respect a Yugoslav topic, and this thesis had many advocates at this meeting.

Asymmetrical Federalism

In his introductory address on the topic of the government and self-management in the context of the principal topic Ratkovic pointed to the frequent tendency to ignore the fundamental constitutional provisions in which the republics and provinces are clearly distinguished. He also expressed the opinion that the limits of the constitution have actually been exceeded already by certain extreme interpretations of this kind and that one can therefore speak of attempts to revise it. A similar opinion was expressed by Dr Miodrag Visnjic, in whose judgment implementation of the constitution is showing that the system of communications and relations in which the provinces figure as an element of federalism has been institutionally built up and developed in practice far more than one in which they are an integral part of SR Serbia. "Perhaps this is a logical

consequence of development of the provinces up to 1968, and especially up to 1971, when they developed predominantly as an integral part of SR Serbia, though in a particular way and to a particular degree the component of their presence in the Federation was also well known," Vianjic observed, thereafter, having reflected for a moment, adding: "But then again perhaps it is not logical"!

Dr Jovan Djordjevic, professor, spoke among other things about asymmetrical federalism. He used this term to describe a federalism which "favorizes only one partner and deprives the other of autonomy."

History shows that asymmetrical federalism quickly turns into hegemony of one participant or into separatism of the other, Djordjevic says. And he then added: "The contradictory nature and unwise ness of asymmetrical federalism in Yugoslavia have been retained under the influence of various overt and covert tendencies from 1971 up to the well-known Kosovo events. Aside from implementation or nonimplementation of the SFRY Constitution and the Constitution of SR Serbia, we must also single out among these tendencies the political and mental climate which has fragmented the country's ethnic structure and contributed to the constant inclusion of autonomy in the orbit of federalism since 1971."

Dr Borislav Jovic recalled that the provinces do not have equal economic rights with the republics. "I am not on this occasion going into the question of whether this is a good solution, but am speaking of this as a fact," he said. "The provinces cannot have any greater interest in integration within Serbia, except for a possible emotional interest, than the interest it has in collaborating with the Yugoslav economy as a whole. However, it is a fact that there are strong forces toward disintegration at the Yugoslav level, forces which are pulling toward autonomy, toward economic separatism in those republics and consequently in the provinces as well."

Jovic sees the roots of economic separatism and autarky above all in the "profound contradiction between the social character of the means of production and the group-ownership character of appropriation of the results of labor." He sees the solution to the problem of the "unity of Serbia" solely in strengthening the spirit of community in Yugoslavia as a whole, and he feels that only in this way is it possible to find the key to the economic troubles which are at the same time the cause of many other troubles.

The Roots of Separatism

Dr Zivojin Rakocevic, professor, spoke on the same topic in a somewhat different manner, debating to some extent with Jovic. That is, he feels that the problem does not lie exclusively in the so-called "group-ownership tendencies" as against the social character of income, but that it goes much deeper and concerns certain contradictions which arise out of the system itself and out of inconsistencies in adhering to the principle adopted long ago concerning the operation of economic laws under socialism. After having presented the opinion (which he called "heretical") that there never did exist a unified Yugoslav market in the true sense of the word, Rakocevic observed that the policy of destatization and debureaucratization, set forth in the LCY Program, has been implemented very contradictorily and with fluctuations. "Although the 1961 and 1965 reforms did not signify any major breakthroughs in this sense, we were quick to

abandon them and throw up our hands, since we did not have the nerves to persist on that reform course.

"Hasn't the problem of Vojvodina as a province within Serbia actually taken on more weight because socialism has been warring unceasingly with agriculture. It cannot abide agriculture via facti, which is why it failed to solve the problem of commodity production, of the market, of establishing relations with the world.... What is it that has recently been motivating the comrades in Vojvodina to put unceasing questions about compensation, the prices of farm products, and so on, and to wage a bloody fight for this? I have called the attention of some of them to the fact that this is a very one-sided approach and in the long run will not yield favorable results. But is this not the origin of the aspirations to exceed even the boundaries which have been postulated in legal and political terms in the Constitution of SR Serbia? Or, Kosovo. Isn't the problem of the advanced and the underdeveloped in the background of everything? Can we then ask whether we ourselves have found exactly the most appropriate solutions to that problem, which is perhaps the greatest problem of the age," Ratkovic said.

Eight Parties

Noting that a moment of crisis has now come in Yugoslav society, Dr Vladan Cetkovic, professor, said that the basic issue today is not only the question of the relations between the republic and the provinces, between republics and republics, but--"whether under present conditions we can produce and exist in the way we have been producing and existing up to now or must something change in that respect"? In his opinion, this has become the central issue for the Yugoslav public and it is the task of scholars, among others, to undertake an exploration for solutions "to everything which obviously does not work any longer the way it worked up to now."

In his participation in the discussion Dr Balsa Spadijer, professor, spoke in particular about the "confederalist tendencies" in the League of Communists, which, he said, are emerging "under the strong pressure of centers of political power which have become independent." "It is clear that the tendency toward confederalization of the League of Communists is tending to break it apart. At one time were witnesses of creation of all but a kind of multiparty system of a particular type in which six or eight parties, or the elites of those parties, enter into compacts, agreements or conflicts. Everything that happened in Kosovo indeed demonstrates that this tendency is one that should not be neglected." In Spadijer's opinion, the reason for all this is not the exclusive copying of the system of decisionmaking by government bodies and agencies, but that the role of the state has again become strong and the League of Communists is again beginning to lean in that direction. For years, Spadijer said, we have advocated separation of the League of Communists from the government, and in that we did succeed, but the question is whether we also separated the structures of the League of Communists from the functioning of the system of government to the extent we desired?

Speaking about democratic centralism, Spadijer emphasized that ideological unity is one of its principles and that "ideological confederalism in the LCY" is by

contrast now being manifested seriously. "We can ask ourselves today on what issues there is a unified ideology and on what issues there are very serious ideological differences as a consequence of federalistic or confederalistic tendencies in the LCY which are tolerated at the moment?"

In the same context Spadijer also spoke about the danger presented by tendencies to strengthen bureaucratic centralism, which in his opinion are the consequence of an erroneous definition of the positions and the independence of the leagues of communists of the republics and provinces.

Milivoje Draskovic spoke about the "pronounced tendency" for the provinces (at any price) and "in every possible respect" to put themselves on a par with the republic and in this way to insist on a kind of "emancipation" of the provinces from SR Serbia. It was his judgment that "aspirations of this kind may among other things be an expression of a primitive separatism." Where does such a strong desire for statehood come from? asked Dr Radivoje Marinkovic, professor. This shows, he believes that the self-management dimension is declining in importance in real relations. But Marinkovic relates this at the same time to something which he referred to as "the domination of the political sphere over the economy." Since domination of the political sphere over the economy is secured through government and political power, it is logical, in his opinion, for everything to "revolve" around how the government power is to be distributed.

An Organization of Conspirators

Milan Vujicic advocated a somewhat different approach in this discussion, taking the view that the problem of relations between the republic and the province is above all a problem of the relations between the "whole and the parts" in the political system of Yugoslavia and that in broader terms who can speak about "partialization" of the parts within the framework of larger systems, of the parts "holding up in bunkers," from the OOUR [basic organization of associated labor] on up. He mentioned the example of JAT [Yugoslav Air Transport] (the organization in which he works) where, he says, "there is no responsibility whatsoever toward the common cause in earning income at the level of the work organization." Dr Miodrag Perovic expressed the opinion that delegations of SR Serbia, SAP Kosovo and SAP Vojvodina in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly ought to establish more direct links and enter into agreement when issues come up that are of interest to the republic as a whole.

At the end, speaking as the last participant in this discussion, Dr Dragomir Draskovic, taking the events in Kosovo as his point of departure, attempted to draw certain fairly general conclusions. "Not a single meeting of the LCSe [League of Communists of Serbia] Central Committee has actually raised the question of democratic centralism, nor was it raised, as you know by the 21st Meeting of the LCY Central Committee either. I do not object to the arguments that the League of Communists has become governmentalized and that there are tendencies toward and a practice of ossifying the idea of the state, but that is not all. The League of Communists is under attack from within, an attack being aimed at separating it from the working class and the people. It is under attack by a type of conspiratorial organization whose nature is very difficult to discuss . . ." Draskovic said.

The discussion in the Political Science Association of SR Serbia was by all appearances only one of many similar discussions on the topics of the present moment in politics which will be conducted this fall. In a few days a discussion is also to be held in the Marxist Center of the LCSe Central Committee where the topic of the relation between the republic and the provinces will again be discussed. But, as on this occasion, that will not be the only topic under discussion.

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YUGOSLAVIA

DEFENDERS OF SENTENCED POET DJOGO ASSAILED

Sarajevo SVIJET in Serbo-Croatian No 1223, 9 Nov 81 p 4

[Commentary by Enver Dizdar: "A Question for Grandchildren"]

[Text] Our editorial board has received an extremely illegible copy of a letter headed "To be specific: A few questions for the comrade-newspapermen," signed with the name of Ilija Moljkovic. We shall not be publishing the letter, since it is unreadable from a variety of standpoints. However, inasmuch as the author remarks that he has sent it to a large number of weekly Yugoslav publications, we do not doubt that it will be available to readers for inspection. In any case, we ought to note that the letter addresses Stevan Stanic of NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE and the undersigned, Enver Dizdar, in connection with--what else?--"Woolly Times" and Gojko Djogo. The last sentence of Moljkovic's text reads as follows:

"Comrade Stanic, Comrade Dizdar, and the other comrade-newspapermen who helped to indict and sentence Djogo, it is now your word and God's word..." No more, no less.

All right, let comrade Moljkovic carry on. If only he were the only one. But little by little, and more and more frequently, new threads of "Woolly Times" are being spun. They are being spun on wobbly looms and battlefields [play on words of similar origin] of calculatedly imaginary anxiety for the freedom of what a writer has said, written down, thought, "sacred" as it is, "above life" as it is, "beyond any possibility of guilt and therefore out of the reach of justice." There he is, the most holy, the most honored, the god who is not subject to any human law--the litterateur.

KNJIZEVNE NOVINE (to mention only the latest threads of Djogo's wool) devotes the last 6 pages of its most recent issue to documents from the trial of Gojko Djogo. In order to provide "readers with a fuller insight into the nature of this case," KNJIZEVNE NOVINE prints the text of the indictment, extracts from the concluding speech of Gojko Djogo, and the text of the substantiation from the verdict, from which (of course!) the poems for which Djogo was on trial are omitted whenever they are cited in the document in their entirety. Comment, it would seem, is unnecessary.

Momo Kapor [popular novelist] has also gotten caught up in this, in an interview that he gave to the Belgrade weekly [actually biweekly] ZUM REPORTER. Since we assume that the same people do not read both our periodical and ZUM REPORTER, we shall cite what Kapor was asked and what he answered.

"ZUM REPORTER: 'Literature has obtained readers and interpreters of a new sort--the courts. What is your comment on this "literary" phenomenon?'

"Kapor: 'I am truly astounded by any judge who, by pronouncing an unjust punishment on a writer, will remain forever registered in the history of Serbian literature. Myself, I would not dare. After all, it is uncomfortable to survive until the time when grandchildren return from school and ask grandfather why a poet had been sentenced in 1981 for writing poetry. What can the grandchildren be answered? To be specific, grandchildren lack understanding for the demands of the current political situation of 50 years earlier, for complicated political relations, accidents of circumstances, and all the rest. Grandchildren expect grandfathers to be infallible and courageous, and not to succumb to anybody's pressures. I do not know how the grandchildren of that Belgrade mayor, the one who exiled Tin Ujevic [a penniless poet] to Imotski under guard [during the interwar era], felt. Probably they did not have an easy time of it at school. Perhaps they changed their surname to shake off the traces of their shame. To sentence a poet for writing poetry is the same as killing a pigeon on a public square. Anyone can do that, but not everyone will. Naturally, so as not to remain in the sphere of metaphor, let me say that I am referring to the poet Gojko Djogo. I am compelled to say this at this moment because perhaps someone else, soon, will have to say it on my behalf or on behalf of my friends."

If things were as Momo Kapor and his like-minded fellows describe them, we would welcome their "infallibility and courage" (even so, we really do regard them as "brave" indeed). But things are not that way, surely not. They know that well themselves. They well know, being intelligent people, all the ways in which hostility to someone or something can be expressed and manifested. They also know that poetry can be a vehicle and weapon of hatred, not just of love. Why should poetry be immuned from such a capability? Or perhaps they think that poetry is so superhuman that a person cannot judge it? Let us say, in any case, that a book and a poem can be considered an entirely human product, is it not so?

In conclusion, let us ask--in view of the entirely real possibility that Kapor and company will have grandchildren--whether they will change their surnames and traces a little later, when they realize how shameful it was to rise in defense of a person who was impudent enough to attempt to besmirch Josip Broz Tito.

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BRIEFS

OFFICIAL REPLACED--The [Macedonian] Republican Social Council for Questions of Social Order held a session yesterday to discuss several current problems and the experience from the participation of the Republic in reaching agreements with the socialist republics and autonomous provinces on questions of mutual interest which will be decided upon in the federation. It was stated that agreement among the republics and provinces in the organs of the federation develops with well-known deadlocks and excessive difficulties, which is not just a result of the method of work and the framework of the agreement process, but also of the condition of the economy and the increased difficulties in the overall functioning of the economy and the political system of the country. Taking into consideration that the mandate of the current president, Dr Trajce Grujoski, has expired, the council elected Servet Saliu as the new president with a one-year mandate. [Excerpts] [Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 25 Nov 81 p 3]

JOBS FOR ALBANIAN WOMEN--Tetovo, 26 Nov--A new dispersion section of the Teteks Wool Combine in the village of Pirok was put into operation at a ceremony attended by President of the Executive Council of the Assembly of Macedonia, Blagoj Popov and by political leaders from Tetovo and the Republic, including Azem Zulficari. This is a modern facility with a production shop of 3,600 square meters. Its cost of construction was 140 million dinars and it will employ 150 women per shift. In his statement the director general of the Teteks Wool Combine, Stojan Gorcevski, said that this shop has much greater significance than just a technological production unit. Its opening is helping in the solution of the problem of employment of the female workforce of Albanian nationality, which for historical reasons has been much slower to be included in the universal socioeconomic movement. Vice President of the Executive Council of the Assembly of Macedonia, Hisen Ramadani, particularly dwelled on the question of realizing the rights and equality of peoples and nationalities, stating that on the question of nationalities Yugoslavia represents a truly positive example in the contemporary world and sets an example of a real approach to realization of the rights and equality of peoples and nationalities. [Excerpts] [Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 27 Nov 81 pp 1, 4]

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